

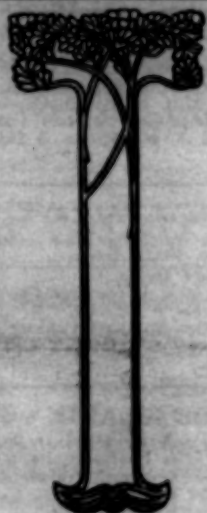


The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 9
No. 3



**"AMERICA FIRST"
FOR HOME AND HUMANITY**

**ORGANIZED OBTRUSION
FOR A CAMPAIGN OF CLAMOR**

**"THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE TO
SETTLE THIS QUESTION
FOR ITSELF"**

**THE SPREAD OF SUFFRAGE "SOLI-
DARITY" IN MILITANT METHODS**

**ARE SUFFRAGISTS TRYING TO
BUY THE BALLOT?**

**THE FALL OF THE FEDERAL
SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT**

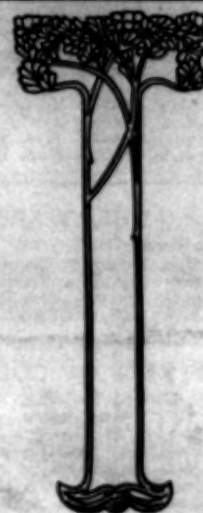
"WHERE WE WORK WE WIN"

**THE EXPERIENCE OF A
TEMPERATE WOMAN**

**AN "EMERGENCY CONVENTION"
TO CONSIDER THE "CRISIS"**

**ANTI-SUFFRAGE AID TO
PREPAREDNESS**

JULY
1916



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year

Single Copies, 10 cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1913, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., Under the Act of March 3, 1879

National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

OFFICERS

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, New York.
Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Louis A. Frothingham, Boston, Mass.;
Mrs. John B. Heron, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Miss Anne Mac-
Ilvaine, Trenton, N. J.; Mrs. Edward Porter Peck,
Omaha, Neb.; Mrs. Sidney W. Thaxter, Portland, Me.
Secretary, Mrs. William B. Glover, Fairfield, Conn.
Treasurer, Miss Caroline W. Stewart, Glen Ridge, N. J.
General Secretary, Miss Minnie Bronson.

Mrs. A. J. George, Executive Secretary, Congressional Committee.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. John Balch, Boston, Mass.
Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, New York.
Mrs. Horace Brock, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale, R. I.
Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. C. H. Davis, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. H. E. Talbot, Dayton, O.
Mrs. E. Yarde Breese, Trenton, N. J.

Mrs. Francis D. Williams, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter, N. H.
Mrs. H. F. Lyster, Detroit, Mich.
Mrs. David Conant, Bradford, Vt.
Miss Caroline Patterson, Macon, Ga.
Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mrs. Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Md.

State Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage

ALABAMA

President, Miss N. V. Baker, Selma.
First Vice-President, Lida B. Robertson, Mobile.
Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Will Roberts, Selma.

CONNECTICUT

President, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, Hartford.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Lynde Harrison, New Haven.
Treasurer, Mrs. Charles H. Lawrence.
Secretary, Miss Carolyn Taylor.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. William T. Howe.
Press Chairman, Mrs. William B. Williams.

DELAWARE

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE, WILMINGTON.
Chairman, Mrs. Henry B. Thompson.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. David A. Reinhardt.
Corresponding Secretary, Miss Emily P. Bissell.
Treasurer, Mrs. Eugene Dupont, Jr.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Room 320, Oxford Building, 726 14th Street, Washington.
President, Mrs. C. H. Davis.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Joseph M. Stoddard.
Treasurer, Miss Alys Card.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. George B. Puller.
Recording Secretary, Miss Annie Squire.

GEORGIA

President, Miss Caroline Patterson, Macon.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Water D. Lamar.
Secretary, Mrs. B. F. Sutton.
State Organizer, Mrs. S. C. Moore.
Treasurer, Mrs. Flewellen Holt.
Chairman Membership Committee, Mrs. R. J. Taylor.
Honorary Vice-President, Miss Mildred Rutherford.
Chairman Finance Committee, Mrs. Charles Hilbun, Macon.

IOWA

Office: 3 Hippee Building, Des Moines.
President, Mrs. Simon Cassady.
Secretary, Mrs. Harry Phillips.
Treasurer, Mrs. Ralph Rollins.
First Vice-President, Miss Alice French.

MAINE

Honorary President, Mrs. Sidney W. Thaxter.
President, Mrs. John F. A. Merrill, 94 Neal Street, Portland.
First Vice-President, Mrs. George E. Bird.
Treasurer, Mrs. Bertrand T. Wheeler.
Secretary, Miss Alice Wood, 206 State Street, Portland.
Assistant Secretary, Mrs. E. G. Abbott.

MARYLAND

President, Mrs. Robert Garrett.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Michael B. Wild.
Treasurer, Mrs. Rosalie Straus.
Chairman, Membership Committee, Mrs. Francis T. Redwood.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. P. Lea Thom.
Executive Secretary, Mrs. M. C. Talbot, 611 Roland Avenue, Roland Park, Md.

MASSACHUSETTS

687 Boylston Street, Boston.
President, Mrs. John Balch.
Chairman Executive Committee, Mrs. Louis A. Frothingham.
Treasurer, Mrs. James M. Codman, Walnut Street, Brookline, Mass.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. S. Reed Anthony.

MICHIGAN

President, Mrs. Henry F. Lyster.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Charles W. Casgrain.
Treasurer, Mrs. James Coslett Smith.
Secretary, Miss Helen E. Keep, 753 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. William S. Jerome.

MINNESOTA

President, Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan, Minneapolis.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Walter Richardson.
Honorary President, Mrs. Johnson W. Straight, St. Paul.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. W. W. Sykes, Minneapolis.
Treasurer, Mrs. H. F. Stevens, St. Paul.
Corresponding Secretary, Ruth M. Currie, 302 Meyers Arcade, Minneapolis.

NEBRASKA

President, Mrs. Edward Porter Peck, Omaha.
Secretary, Mrs. Archibald Smith, 102 South 35th Street.
Treasurer, Mrs. C. C. George, 5218 Chicago Street.
Executive Committee, Mrs. Henry W. Yates, Chairman.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

President, Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Edson J. Hill, Concord.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. Otis G. Hammond, Concord.
Corresponding Secretary, Miss Grace Morrill, 8 South State Street, Concord.
Treasurer, Miss Carry R. Todd.

NEW JERSEY

Office: 32 West State Street, Trenton.
Honorary President, Miss Anna L. Dayton.
President, Mrs. E. Yarde Breese.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr.
Recording Secretary, Mrs. G. Herbert Smith, Summit.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Ellsworth A. Corbett, Trenton.
General Secretary, Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, Trenton.
Treasurer, Mrs. Charles R. Smith, Ellison Street, Paterson.

NEW YORK STATE

Office: 35 West 39th Street, New York.
President, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.
Honorary Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Elihu Root, Mrs. Richard Watson Gilder, Mrs. Francis M. Scott.
Secretary, Miss Elizabeth F. Gallaudet.
Treasurer, Mrs. John A. Church.

NORTH DAKOTA

President, Mrs. N. C. Young, Fargo.
First Vice-President, Mrs. N. C. Frick.
Secretary, Mrs. E. L. Wiswell, Fargo.
Executive Committee, Mrs. N. C. Young, Mrs. W. J. Howe, Mrs. D. B. Holt.

OHIO

Office: 804 Neave Building, Cincinnati.
President, Mrs. Harry E. Talbot, Dayton.
First Vice-President, Mrs. W. Austin Goodman.
Secretary, Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz, Cincinnati.
Treasurer, Mrs. John A. MacMillan, 9 Dartmouth Drive, Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA

Office: 1108 Finance Building, 1426 South Penn Square, Philadelphia.
President, Mrs. Horace Brock.
First Vice-President, Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt.
Treasurer, Mrs. Charles W. Henry.
Secretary, Mrs. Charles Bingham Penrose.
General Secretary and Assistant Treasurer, Miss Laura M. Sloan.

RHODE ISLAND

President, Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale.
First Vice-President, Miss Louise C. Hoppin.
Secretary, Mrs. A. G. Harkness, Providence.
Treasurer, Mrs. Elisha H. Howard, Newport Branch.
Hon. Chairman, Mrs. Joseph Howland.
Chairman, Mrs. Charles Weaver.
Secretary, Mrs. Ernest Howe.

TEXAS

President, Mrs. James B. Wells, Brownsville.
Chairman Press Committee, Mrs. George F. Arnold, 709 McKinney Avenue, Houston.

VERMONT

President, Mrs. David Conant, Bradford.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Edward Kirkland.
Secretary, Miss S. Blanche Stranahan, Bradford.
Treasurer, Miss Hattie Brock, South Newbury.

VIRGINIA

Postoffice Box 368, Richmond.
President, Mrs. Francis D. Williams.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Otho G. Kean.
Honorary President, Miss Jane Rutherford.
Treasurer, Mrs. Lewis Strauss.
Recording Secretary, Miss Maury Robinson.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Chiles M. Ferrell.

WEST VIRGINIA

President, Mrs. N. C. Gallaher, Charleston.
First Vice-President, Mrs. Howard Simpson, Wheeling.
Treasurer, Miss Jean Brown, Charleston.
Secretary, Mrs. Mayo Tollman, 1583 Quarrier Street, Charleston.

WISCONSIN

President, Miss Mary L. Atwood.
First Vice-President, Mrs. George H. Noyes.
Secretary, Miss Gertrude S. Bean, 4 Prospect Avenue, Milwaukee.
Treasurer, Mrs. Ellis B. Usher.

"AMERICA FIRST"—FOR HOME AND HUMANITY

THE facilities of anti-suffrage organizations were formally dedicated to the service of "America First" at the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

The following resolution was unanimously passed on June 29th and forwarded to President Wilson as President of the American Red Cross:

"Whereas, An emergency exists which may lead to the active engagement of the armed forces of the United States to protect the lives and property of American citizens, and

"Whereas, The cost of conflict is minimized when all citizens contribute their share of service to their common country, therefore

"Be It Resolved, By the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage:

"That in harmony with our work for home and humanity the facilities of this organization be dedicated to the service of 'America First.'"

"That we co-operate with the United States Government, the American Red Cross and other patriotic organizations in contributing to the comfort of the men who serve the Nation on land and sea, and in providing for the protection and subsistence of the women and children who remain at home."

Many of the anti-suffragists have taken courses in Red Cross and first-aid work. In several cities, notably Albany, Boston, Brooklyn, Minneapolis, New York, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and St. Paul, anti-suffrage organizations have operated study classes and conducted relief stations for this purpose.

At the outbreak of the European war, anti-suffragists formed relief committees and collected \$8,000 within a few weeks for the American Red Cross.

Co-operation with existing agencies will be the keynote of anti-suffrage activity. Nothing will be done to overlap or duplicate the work of other patriotic associations. Each anti-suffrage office will serve as an information bureau to women as to how they can best serve in each of the branches of relief and emergency work.

Several of the State associations have already begun active work along these lines, and besides have thrown open their offices to the use of committees formed for special patriotic purposes not related to the opposition to woman suffrage. The National office is available one day in each week to a committee which will take up the most important phase of emergency work as occasion arises, co-operating with the organization having it in charge.

ORGANIZED OBTRUSION FOR A CAMPAIGN OF CLAMOR

IS organized obtrusion, the interruption of public meetings and the insulting of public officials part of the program to give us "purified politics?"

The President of the United States was insulted twice within two days recently by suffrage fanatics.

When the Executive Committee of the Women's National Democratic League called on the President on July 3d to assure him of their support, a woman interrupted the speaker to tell Mr. Wilson that the women of the suffrage States would punish his party "if he didn't watch out" and to complain that the other women had "no right" to support him.

The next day, while addressing more than ten thousand union workers of the American Federation of Labor, a suffragist interrupted the President's Fourth of July speech to ask:

"Why do you block the National suffrage amendment?" She was quieted by the police and the disposition of the audience to "throw her out!"

But as soon as the address was over she challenged him again:

"Answer, Mr. President! Why do you block the National suffrage amendment?" She was escorted across the street by the police.

This woman is secretary of the Western States for the Congressional Union. Miss Alice Paul, who is head of that organization, and who is a protegee of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, announced at once that this was "the first step to be taken in impressing continually upon the minds of the Democratic leaders the need of passing the Federal suffrage amendment at this session of Congress."

The Congressional Union is thus officially backing this campaign of insult and heckling every time the President or a Member of Congress appears in public. Has any political organization of men ever dared organize such a contemptible attack on the dignity of public officials? Nor can the National American Woman Suffrage now claim any higher regard for the office of Chief Executive of the United States. Mrs. Catt's statement, approved by her association and its official organ, accusing the President of "descending to the tricks of the cheapest politicians,"

is just the sort of thing that encourages the fanatics who heckle him at every opportunity.

Militancy and fanaticism have gained a firm grip upon the leaders of both suffrage organizations.

RECENT suffragist tactics have drawn a rebuke even from Senator Thomas of Colorado, as the following press despatch shows:

WASHINGTON, July 5.—If radical woman suffrage workers continue to heckle Democratic speakers, as Miss Mabel Vernon of Nevada did President Wilson yesterday, they will drive away men who naturally would support them, declared Senator Thomas of Colorado on the floor to-day.

As Chairman of the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee, he defied the women to do their political worst, and defended his committee for not having forced a vote on the proposed National amendment.

"There is no one who controls 4,000,000 women's votes in this country," declared the senator. "There is no one who controls 2,000,000 or 1,000,000 or 250,000. In the campaign in my State two years ago there was a sweet voiced canary on every stump and twig, and they talked to audiences eagerly furnished by Republican politicians, but they only so aroused the Democratic women that all the Democratic candidates benefited and that was their only effect.

"The great mass of thinking women will not have their votes controlled by one organization or by one issue. If the workers continue their campaign of heckling and interrupting the President of the United States, it will drive away much of the support which they have."

Senator Thomas was re-elected two years ago despite the efforts of the Congressional Union to turn the votes of the women from the Democratic party in Colorado. He said that if the suffrage amendment were submitted at this session it would receive less support than last year, because of the fact that there were men on the committee who would not vote now as they would have done a year ago.

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 West 39th Street, New York City.

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.....New York
Secretary, Mrs. Wm. B. Glover.....Fairfield, Conn.
Treasurer, Miss Caroline W. Stewart, Glen Ridge, N. J.

Vol. IX

July, 1916

No. 3

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

THE YELLOW PERIL

THE following statement was made on November 28, 1911, when the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was formed, soon after the adoption of woman suffrage by California. "This Association is brought into existence to combat the yellow peril, suffrage. It will follow the yellow flag and endeavor to stamp out the pestilence. Where the contagion is already rampant, the National Association will endeavor to check it; where the malady is only threatened, it will inoculate against the new disease."

Since that time, when six States had woman suffrage, the contagion has spread to five more States in adjoining territory. East of the Missouri River, however, the anti-suffragists have been able to prevent the spread of the yellow peril when the question was sent to the electorate and fourteen times have demonstrated that popular interest and information on this question, if taken in time, will save any State. Illinois alone gave partial suffrage to women by act of a legislature influenced by a secret lobby.

The more we prove at the polls that no State well organized against it will succumb to this peril the more is the microbe of militancy affecting the suffragists. The contagion has now developed a virulent form and often influences the nature, looks, actions and even veracity of its victims. Before and during the National conventions, the radical element seemed to have broken away from the older organization of suffragists and to be discrediting woman suffrage all over the country, a menace to womanhood. Since the conventions, however, radicalism has also crept into the ranks of the National Woman Suffrage Association, as shown by the utterances of its leaders in the following pages.

One of the most astonishing results of this pernicious activity for woman suffrage is that although recognizing its peril, many men and women arrive, through some strange process of thought, at the conclusion that fighting it is a waste of energy. Any other danger they would fight without ceasing, but their judgment in this instance seems to be affected by the activities, attacks and threats which increase in radicalism with each new defeat. After all, suffrage is only a symptom of the more extreme unrest expressed by feminism. If suffrage were granted to women, is

there any possible evidence for believing that the unrest would be decreased? Rather, with another means of expression, would it not open new avenues for the development of the extreme forms of feminism and socialism?

We who are opposing woman suffrage are doing so not only for the immediate future, when its dangers might develop slowly, but for the coming generations. The suffrage clamor for justice for women sometimes threatens to affect the clear judgment of some of our friends. The majority of women are not asking for the vote. What of the injustice to them? They feel that the highest ideal of womanhood is threatened by the thrusting of all women into the maelstrom of politics. Until the majority of women demand this entrance into active political life, it would be an injustice to the present generation of women and a danger to coming generations for those who realize the peril of woman suffrage to remain passive.

This "yellow peril" must be actively opposed.

"Some of the editors showed their truest tribute to the cause by refusing to accept anti-suffrage paid advertising," says an Iowa suffrage official. None of the Iowa antis confirms this story—but, if true, it gives a good indication of the sort of blind partisanship woman suffrage would force upon the free press as well as introduce into politics.

A suffragist has written to a publisher protesting against the inclusion of a story by Artemus Ward in a text-book of literature because the story opposes woman suffrage. In a few more years suffragists will be protesting against keeping on record the election figures by which their cause is being put out of business.

Suffragists suppress anti-suffrage information, protest against anti-suffrage in literature and ask Congress to pay no attention to an anti-suffrage "people." The tolerance of the average suffragist would do credit to the witch-burners of the dark ages.

The so-called "woman's party" and the Congressional Union are doing a lot of good work for the anti-suffragists in trying by threats to get politicians to indorse the Federal amendment. Those of the threatened politicians who are old foxes are not frightened, for—to modify a recent epigram from General Leonard Wood—no fox was ever frightened by the noise of a flock of geese.

A man in Omaha has suggested a solution to the suffragists of their unique predicament because of the similar suffrage planks of both political parties. Democrats and Republicans both being against a Federal amendment, he advises the women of the West to "vote the socialist ticket." Quite a few will adopt the suggestion, no doubt. The others will vote their husband's tickets, and in either case the so-called "woman's party" will not benefit.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S VIEWS

Mrs. D. E. Hooker, of Richmond, Va., who interviewed President Wilson regarding the suffrage plank, telegraphs the suffrage journal as follows:

"The President said the suffrage plank in the Democratic platform did not indorse the Federal amendment. I told him it did not mention the Federal amendment for or against. I asked him, 'What did the plank mean?' He said he hoped it meant what it said. I told him it did not say much and that it let us think anything we wanted to. He said he thought it meant it should come through the States and not by Federal amendment."

The suffragists now know that Mr. Wilson believes the platform plank is against Federal action. Will that influence in any way their attempt to get him to break the platform pledge? It will not. "Purified politics" does not balk at asking Presidents or members of Congress to break pledges for the "cause."

"THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE TO SETTLE THIS QUESTION FOR ITSELF"

THE "harmony" efforts between the Progressive and Republican conventions are responsible for the ultimate adoption of suffrage planks placing both parties on record in favor of the principle of woman suffrage but recognizing "the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

The sub-committee, on resolutions of the Republican party defeated the proposed suffrage plank June 8th by a vote of 5 to 4. Senators Lodge, Wadsworth and Oliver, Charles Hopkins Clark and former Representative Howland of Ohio voted against it. Senators Borah, Sutherland and Fall and Representative Madden of Illinois voted for it.

Three hours later, however, while seven members of the committee were absent, the Resolutions Committee as a whole voted to endorse woman suffrage by 26 to 21. A reconsideration of the plank was demanded and its rejection threatened. After repeated parleys, a recess and a luncheon, it was agreed to pass the plank with the modification that the party "recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself." This modification, and the fact that the Progressive party had gone on record in favor of woman suffrage and that everybody wanted "harmony," saved the plank from flat rejection. The final vote on it was 35 to 11 as modified.

THE JOKER

The following Chicago press report would indicate that a vote on the floor of the convention would have defeated woman suffrage:

"When Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, reading the platform in the Republican convention yesterday, reached the suffrage plank and paused on 'favors the extension of the suffrage to women' the audience went wild. Women in the galleries jumped to their feet and waved banners, yellow-banded straw hats, handkerchiefs and shouted again and again. On the floor the delegates applauded perfunctorily. Senator Lodge beamed genially. He does not favor it.

"Finally the applause died down and Senator Lodge continued: 'But recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.'

"The women in the galleries dropped suddenly to their seats, the perfunctory applause in the delegates' pit changed into a hearty cheer and half the audience roared with laughter.

"Senator Lodge smiled genially at his little joke.

"'Who wins?' shouted a voice from the galleries before the reading continued."

The full plank reads:

"The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people and for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

This clearly limits the method of attaining woman suffrage to action by the States themselves in submitting suffrage amendments to popular vote. This is the only method by which each State can settle this question for itself. It distinctly repudiates the Federal amendment method, by which thirty-six States containing only one-third the population of the country could settle the question for the other States.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLANK

THE Democratic party adopted a plank on June 16th as much like the Republican as two peas in a pod, except for the omission of the campaign oratory with which the suffragists bedecked the first phrases of the Republican plank. The Republican party, having given the suffragists a few flowery words meaning practically nothing, the Democratic party could do no less. As the proposed suffrage plank first appeared in the Democratic Resolutions Committee it approved suffrage as a national question as asked by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

This plank was rejected by 24 to 20. The next was a plank in favor of the Federal amendment, as requested by the Congressional Union, or "Woman's Party." This plank was defeated by 40 to 4. The next proposal was to avoid mentioning woman suffrage in the platform. This was defeated by 27 to 17. Finally, a plank said to be suggested by President Wilson was adopted by 25 to 20. It reads:

"We favor the extension of the franchise to the women of the country, by the States, on the same terms as to the men."

THE MINORITY REPORT

Members of the committee who voted against the inclusion of a suffrage plank presented a minority report on the floor of the convention.

It was signed by members from Georgia, New Jersey, Indiana and Texas.

It was read by Governor Ferguson of Texas:

"The Democratic party has always stood for the sovereignty of the several States in the control and regulation of elections. We reaffirm the historic position of our party in this regard and favor the continuance of that wise provision of the Federal Constitution which vests in the several States the power to prescribe the qualifications of their electors, which said last quoted provision was voted down in said committee by a vote of 26 to 17, and we hereby tender said provision as a minority report and ask its adoption by this convention."

Governor Ferguson continued:

"For a century the Democratic party has stood for the issue of local control. In victory and in defeat we never have been accused of having sold or bartered our immortal principles.

"The party which believes something that it does not say or says something that it does not believe is not entitled to the confidence of the American people. I do not believe in political expediency.

"It is perfectly apparent that this resolution offered by the majority of the committee is not the belief of the majority of the Democrats of this nation.

"Does anyone believe that Woodrow Wilson can be intimidated by the swish of the skirts of a few hundred thousand militant suffragists in the United States? I for one do not. He must stand by the principles of Democracy and so must we, if the great Democratic party is not to go down in defeat.

"This is not a national question, and if it is not, then what has this convention got to do with it?"

A crowd of suffragists in the galleries hissed Governor Ferguson several times during his speech.

Senator Stone thereupon contended that Governor Ferguson had misconstrued the issue before the convention.

"The committee's proposal was to submit the question of woman suffrage to the States," he said. Here he was interrupted by cries of "No! No!" from the New Jersey and part of the New York delegation.

SENATOR STONE EXPLAINS

Senator Stone then read over again the minority report and insisted that it was not a proper substitute for the majority report.

"The question at issue," he said, "was simply that the Democratic party would favor the suffrage right being conferred on women by the States themselves."

"Is this an interference with the Democratic doctrine of States' rights?" he demanded.

"We don't understand this the way you do," objected Governor Fielder of New Jersey. "We in New Jersey have already voted against woman suffrage."

This was greeted by applause and then Senator Stone said:

"Gentlemen, you say that you do not want suffrage in New Jersey, do you?"

"No, we don't?" shouted the New Jersey delegates.

"Well, you do not have to have it, then!" shouted the senator, and a laugh greeted his remark that "we in Missouri defeated woman suffrage by 150,000 some time ago."

He was then asked if he held that the platform would compel delegates to support woman suffrage when it came up as a State issue.

"I do not so hold," he replied.

After a little more discussion a vote was taken upon the minority report, which was defeated by 888½ noes to 181½ ayes, many of the delegates under the impression that they were voting against woman suffrage and all eager to get home.

PRESS COMMENT

(The Chattanooga, Tenn., Times)

THE officers of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage—the organization that has maintained the most open and persistent lobby at Washington ever known, perhaps—has issued a call for the purpose of organizing a "Woman's party." *** It is based somewhat on the plan adopted by certain of the hyphenates of New York who are organizing a party "to beat Wilson" and it will prove just as effective.

This call ought to be the last word needed to settle the issue in Tennessee and bring the vast majority of the good women who oppose the propaganda of these trapping agitators who appear to have nothing else to do but to pose in public and run after men who are in places of influence to get busy with counter organizations. The result of the activities of these women has been to initiate an ingenious process for undermining the old-time relationship between the sexes and to destroy that sacred regard society has hitherto had for the exclusiveness of women's influence in the formation of character and the maintenance of the uplifting potentialities of the home.

To that man or woman who does not see the dangerous drift of all this frenzied energy in the pursuit of mannish prerogatives, nothing will appeal as a deterrent, but there are thousands of men and women who are at least open-minded to the evil possibilities of the propaganda, and to these the truth must eventually become manifest; and then it will be a simple matter of organization for overwhelming the movement under a "mountain of dissenting ballots."

By all means let the "sisters of iconoclasm" have their little woman's party; and let them swear not to support anybody who will not breach the constitution for their especial benefit—that, we should say, would be a most effective way for arousing the millions of women in the country opposed to suffrage, to make their voices heard and to signify to the world that they prefer to occupy the honorable field they have held so long with such grace and so helpful to the progress of civilization and the advancement of the race toward better things. The new feminism will upset all of this, and who knows but that it may be the turning point to retrogression.

(New York Times)

The extreme left of the suffragists, assuming the altisonant name of the Women's Party, played what it must have thought a clever trick on both the Republicans and the Democrats. The Republicans were willing victims. A good number of Democratic delegates took seriously the joke, for it is nothing more. In 1912 the Progressives committed themselves to woman suffrage, without reference to State or Federal action. Their reiteration of their position in 1916 was natural. The Republicans, seeing woman suffrage in twelve States, felt that there could be no harm in saying a fine, colorless, indefinite, good word for it in their national platform. They had also the malicious satisfaction of making trouble for their Democratic friends, and especially among the Southerners. The Woman's Party folks had a plan of campaign founded on an impossible assumption, which, naturally, found credence. "Favor suffrage, or we will throw the women's vote against you in the twelve suffrage States."

Of course the threat was absurd. There is no such thing as a women's vote, no solidarity of sex. If there were, it would be another sufficient argument against woman suffrage. The women divide politically as the men do.

The Progressives and the Republicans have stuck a declara-

tion for suffrage in their gallimaufry platform. Why shouldn't the Democrats do as much? And they did, after superfluous excitement on the floor and in the galleries. Everybody consented to be buncoed. Woman suffrage remains exactly as before, a matter for the States to decide for themselves, and, therefore, impertinent in a national platform. Both Republicans and Democrats took good pains to leave woman suffrage to the several States. Some delegates were unnecessarily frightened. The wiseheads know a political comedy when they play it.

(New York Globe)

The platform makers at St. Louis doubtless flattered themselves on their adroitness and hoped the joker artfully introduced would escape observation, but the leaders of the equal suffrage movement are keen of vision and quickly saw it.

(New York Herald)

And so it is with the suffrage plank. * * * It does not mean anything more than did the similar declaration at Chicago. As the contest progresses the valuelessness of all these declarations will be generally recognized. The people, who will decide, are not going to devote any great amount of thought to platform promises of any kind.

(New York World)

A mere formal expression of their principles on the part of the Republican national convention or a declaration in favor of a constitutional amendment can be only a hollow victory compared with the establishment of equal suffrage in Iowa. After the series of defeats they experienced last fall in Eastern States they stood in great need of a victory in Iowa to demonstrate to the waverers and opponents of suffrage that the movement for equality at the polls had not been stayed.

Not a single woman will receive the right to vote as a result of any verbal concessions that may be made in national platforms. But in Iowa the opportunity was at hand to raise at one stroke from the non-voting class half a million women.

(Sioux City Journal)

As has heretofore been pointed out, there is little to choose between the suffrage planks of the two political parties. Both leave the suffragists with nothing more specific than an indorsement of suffrage as a State issue. As nobody has ever denied the right of the State to adopt equal suffrage, and as twelve States have applied it to Presidential elections, there was no material net gain for the suffragists in either plank.

(Boston Transcript)

The Republican convention's adoption of the woman suffrage plank, with its proviso recognizing the right of each State to settle the question for itself, is a rather empty triumph for the woman suffrage cause. The States, of course, may enfranchise women or may not; they have always had that right and power. What the advocates of woman suffrage wanted of the convention was a plank favoring a Federal constitutional amendment. In the States the cause seems to be making progress backward instead of forward. State after State has lately refused the change. The hope of the advocates of suffrage lies in a Federal amendment. * * * It has been demonstrated that the legislatures of the States and Congress itself are more favorably disposed to woman suffrage than the popular electorates in the States. * * * Politicians have an eye to the vote of women where they possess it. * * * All that remains is to convince the people of the great States of the East, South and Middle West that it is desirable to extend the vote to the women who live in those States. Toward that conviction not much progress seems to be making at present.

(Chicago Herald)

The declaration that the right of each State "to settle the question for itself" is recognized is a limitation of the method of attainment but not a modification of the principle.

(Butte, Mont., *Miner*)

Word comes from suffragists headquarters that some of the leaders are not at all pleased with the plank in the Democratic platform touching this matter.

At that, both the old parties took the same position upon this question, although their planks are a little differently worded.

Democracy, since its formation, has always believed in home rule, and that upon issues of this kind the States should act in their individual capacity.

What these women desired was to have all the parties endorse the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution, which they would then have to submit to the legislatures of all the States.

There are only twelve suffrage States, and most of the others have declared their opposition to granting the franchise to women, so that even though this amendment were submitted there would not be the slightest chance of it carrying, so that as a matter of fact, it would be waste of valuable time to submit the question.

(St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*)

If the Democratic platform declares in favor of submitting a national constitutional amendment providing woman suffrage it will be a repudiation not only of the President and the Democratic Congress, but of the traditional preachments of the party. If there is one doctrine to which the Democrats have consistently clung in all their wobbly career it has been that of the right of the State to fix the qualifications of suffrage. The only Federal modification of this right is the constitutional amendment forbidding a discrimination because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Federal enactments to make this amendment effective have been resisted by the Democratic party with unvarying unanimity and vehemence. Nearly every Democratic platform, including the last, has fulminated against further Federal encroachments on the rights of the States. If the predicted action in favor of woman suffrage is taken, it will be solely to curry favor with the women who already have the ballot.

THE SPREAD OF SUFFRAGE "SOLIDARITY" IN MILITANT METHODS

SUFFRAGISTS foregathered at Chicago June 5th, 6th and 7th under the auspices of two separate and distinct associations, which greeted each other with all the "harmony" of the proverbial Kilkenny cats. "Solidarity" was unseen at "the gathering of the clans."

First on the ground was the so-called "Woman's Party," founded by the Congressional Union, which proposed to run a woman for President and offered 4,000,000 votes for a suitable plank. The idea of a woman candidate for President excited the ire of some of the other women and risibilities of editors and paragraphers. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout of the Illinois Suffrage Association resigned from the Congressional Union and the Illinois Association promptly issued a statement declaring that:

"Confusion and duplication of work will be the effect of the Congressional Union's activities in Chicago." It assailed the proposal to form a party on "sex lines" and defined the Union as "a detached group of Eastern suffragists" who have "persisted in misrepresenting the facts to the public."

When Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw arrived on the scene as representatives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, they were just as critical:

"Mrs. Catt declared that the entire plan of the Woman's Party, which is headed by Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, is suicidal to the suffrage cause," according to the *Chicago Journal*.

Dr. Shaw said:

"The Woman's Party is a great hindrance to suffrage. You can't organize women to fight the men on one point nationally and then expect these same men to keep with the women on other points which are of vital importance."

THE WOMAN'S PARTY

As for the Woman's Party, it was no less courteous to the National Association. It vigorously denied the report that it had ever really meant to run a woman for President. Then each of the women named also denied that she had ever had any intention of running for President. "It pays to advertise," and one way to make two suffrage statements grow where none grew before is to issue a sensational rumor and then deny it. In addition, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont of the Congressional Union expressed her opinion of "other suffrage organizations."

"We, as members of the Congressional Union, do not recognize any other suffrage organization," she said.

To show how little the suffragists mutually "recognize" each other, the following incident will suffice:

Mrs. Catt of the National Association had planned to have a parade of 40,000 suffragists. Miss Harriet Vittum of Chicago, a leader of the Progressive Women, also wanted one. Miss Alice Carpenter moved that they organize a woman's parade.

"I've a better plan," said Miss Vittum. "There is to be a suffrage parade there June 7th. Why not steal it? Why bother getting

up a parade when there will be one right there to appropriate? * * * Let the Progressive Women sweep right down on that parade with Progressive banners, a few Moose, etc., and we shall win them."

THE DELIVERY OF KANSAS

But a little matter like "stealing" a parade did not worry the Woman's Party. After listening to the speeches of men from all parties, the Congressional Union organization decided that the alleged "4,000,000" women's votes they had been offering had not been presented dramatically enough to scare the platform makers as much as desired.

When Victor Murdock and Gifford Pinchot spoke for the Progressive Party and assured the Woman's Party convention that they would work for a plank in the Republican platform in case of a merger with Progressives, Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch declared:

"You do not say that sincerely!"

She told her sister suffragists they must be prepared to fight any party which will not indorse suffrage.

"I pledge myself to gather together 500,000 women voters in Kansas who will work with me along these lines," she said.

"I pledge myself to raise \$500,000 to carry on this work," added Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.

There are but 438,934 women over 21 in Kansas, according to the last census, and not over 40 per cent. of them will vote. If railroad fare is to be paid for the imported suffragists to make up Mrs. Blatch's pledge, there will not be much left for votes.

THE PARADE

Mrs. Catt and the National Association managed to retain their parade and prevent the Progressive "steal." Outside of that they had bad luck. Parade headquarters were opened and a parrot was enthroned as "official barker" for the suffragists. The bird was named "Polly Votes" and was to be taught to speak for votes for women and to be carried in the parade. The bird-store man assured the committee that the parrot did not swear, but the day was opened by the recital of all the swear words Polly knew.

He refused to learn his official slogan: "Votes for Women," and would only say "votes" and follow it with derisive laughter. He stole the beauty patch off one suffragist's cheek, bit and scratched others and was finally banished when his laughter over "votes" caused one suffragist to "depart in a huff." When the parade was finally assembled it rained and the much-talked-of 40,000 marchers dwindled to an actual 5,341.

They marched, with all the fervor of children, under rubber coats and umbrellas with the rain directly in their faces and a band blaring out "Nobody Knows How Dry We are."

"Two women were struggling along with a big banner on two sticks, the strong wind nearly blowing them over. The legend on this read: 'Do You Think We Would Make Presentable Citizens.'"

"At the moment they looked like citizens just from the ducking stool," says the *New York Times*.

A baby elephant labeled "G. O. P." followed along shivering, led by a mere man unassisted by women.

When the parade reached the Coliseum, a distance of about a mile and a quarter, they found a group of anti-suffragists addressing the committee. They proceeded to hiss in the regulation style suffrage is introducing to politics until a Southern woman who has not yet sacrificed her womanly dignity to the "cause" succeeded in quieting them.

Then they presented their plea for the plank. It had been drawn up in advance and inadvertently included Iowa in the list of suffrage States, a slight inaccuracy which was allowed to stand because of the hope that the recount would show a suffrage victory.

SILENCE!

In St. Louis the suffragists decided to make a concession to the Southern woman's idea of womanliness. The street parade idea was cut out and instead, the suffragists posed along a lane of so-called "Golden Silence" to impress the delegates as they marched to the convention hall.

"Silence!" remarked one woman. "Why the color scheme itself is a shriek." And, of course, no one really kept silence. That also was "make believe." Two-thirds of the delegates avoided the "Golden Lane," and used a different route to the convention.

ARE SUFFRAGISTS TRYING TO BUY THE BALLOT?

THE *New York Sun*, a reliable newspaper, reported on July 4th that Miss M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr and of the College Equal Suffrage League, has made a contribution of \$100 to the Hughes campaign fund "conditional on Hughes's support of the Federal suffrage amendment."

If this is true, it is the first time in history that man or woman has publicly offered a candidate for President of the United States a \$100 contribution conditional upon his repudiation of a plank in his party platform. That the president of a woman's college and the leader of the most "educated" brand of suffragists thinks she can sway the judgment of a former member of the Supreme Court by a paltry contribution of \$100 to a campaign fund is almost unbelievable. What are we coming to?

The suffragists are proudly announcing the amount of cash they have to spend and the manner they are willing to spend it—to corrupt the Congress of the United States into misrepresenting public opinion on the suffrage question. President Thomas has recently inherited somewhat over \$1,000,000, which has been reported as available for suffrage use. Mrs. Catt has another \$1,000,000 from the Leslie estate. The Congressional Union says it has \$500,000 in cash and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont has just pledged another \$500,000.

Is this immense sum of money in the hands of half a dozen women, who are backing a movement rejected by popular vote fourteen times in the last four years—wherever the people have had a chance to learn the facts—to outweigh the opinion of the majority of the men and women of the country? It is not. Manhood is not extinct, either in Congress or the States. When a few rich women with a \$3,000,000 war chest and a few thousand followers become able to purchase candidates for President and Members of Congress, democracy is doomed.

Meanwhile the public should investigate the sort of civic ideals that are being taught women in some of our colleges under suffrage domination.

"PLAYING POLITICS"

AFTER the suffragists had spent many months in "playing politics" with the parties, they became violently indignant when they learned that the parties had been "playing politics" with them.

Immediately after the Democratic party passed its plank limiting the method of obtaining suffrage to State action, even the conservatives among the suffragists seemed to become bereft of sound judgment and to give way to the same sort of threats that made the Congressional Union famous.

Mrs. Catt called together her cohorts of the National Association and issued the following statement, with an inferential attack on the honor of the President of the United States such as none of his male opponents would dare frame into language. We quote from the official suffrage organ:

"The Democrats admitted freely in their speeches that 'political exigency' demanded 'some kind of a suffrage plank,' and they thought to hoodwink the women by a jumble of words which were designed to meet the situation, but in no sense succeeded.

"The so-called suffrage plank which they adopted, after bursts of eloquence that were far more frank than intelligent, cannot be expected to win the Presidential campaign for them. But it may well be expected to win the antagonism of millions of men and women voters in all parts of the country.

"If the plank adopted to-day is the President's choice, the world may justly accuse him of descending to the tricks of the cheapest politician in order to bid for votes by flaunting a plank that may be interpreted in as many ways as there are people."

Mrs. Catt thereupon sent the following demand to President Wilson:

"Inasmuch as Governor Ferguson of Texas and Senator Walsh of Montana made diametrically opposite statements in the Democratic Convention to-day in regard to your attitude toward the suffrage plank adopted by the convention, we apply to you directly to state your position on the plank and give your precise interpretation of its meaning."

This is on a par with the order which Mrs. Catt sent to President Wilson at the outbreak of the European War to the effect that the women of the world demanded that he "let no diplomatic conventions stand in the way" of an early effort to restore peace.

The President replied to Mrs. Catt's demand for a "precise interpretation" of the plank as follows:

"I wish to join with my fellow Democrats in recommending to the several States that they extend the suffrage to women upon the same terms as men." The President was visited by a Virginia suffragist later on and asked to further the Federal amendment. The President is reported to have remarked on this occasion: "You would seem to accuse us of insincerity and buncombe."

The National Suffrage Association has now sent its president to work at Washington to force the men of both parties to betray their platform planks by passing a Federal amendment. The National Suffrage Association thus officially places itself on record as opposed to the recognition of State rights and as willing to adopt the same methods as the Congressional Union; the same methods which only a month ago Mrs. Catt thought "suicidal to the suffrage cause;" the same methods which Dr. Shaw a month ago deplored in the "Woman's Party" as a "great hindrance to suffrage." The National Association also is demanding that Members of Congress dishonor themselves and misrepresent their districts, and is threatening them with defeat by exactly the same jugglery with the women's vote in the coming election, about which it says the Congressional Union has "persisted in misrepresenting the facts to the public!"

This shows that the germ of militancy is working upwards in the suffrage movement and will break out anywhere when the adherents of the cause are sufficiently excited, disappointed or indulged by the action of real political parties.

THE FALL OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

THE planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms are very similar and are both unsatisfactory to the suffragists, who hoped for an unqualified indorsement of their cause.

The anti-suffragists are not elated over the adoption of the planks, and would have preferred that no mention be made of woman suffrage, as it is not a National issue.

But in going on record in their platforms as *opposed* to a constitutional amendment to enfranchise women, each party has formally pledged itself to a course of action which is a practical anti-suffrage victory.

Hereafter, no man of either party in Congress can vote for a Federal suffrage amendment without repudiating and defying the platform of his party.

The Republican plank "recognizes the right of each State to settle the question for itself." The Democratic plank "recommends the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States on the same terms as to men."

The suffragists, with their usual sophistry, have attempted to argue that "recognizing the right of each State to settle the question for itself does not declare against the taking away of that right."

If "recognizing" a right does not mean assent, approval, acknowledgment and acquiescence in its continued duration—what is the English language between suffragists?

Few of the men of either party would attempt such a crude evasion. It is either State rights or repudiation of the platform for every Republican and Democrat in Congress.

If the platform planks mean anything whatever they mean that both parties believe in allowing the separate States to decide the question.

There is only one way in which this can be done—by the submission of amendments to State constitutions to the voters of the States. Amendments to State constitutions must be submitted to the voters in every State but Delaware.

This is the manner in which eleven States have adopted woman suffrage.

If eleven States have the right to enfranchise women in spite of the disapproval of thirty-six man-suffrage States, twelve of the older and more experienced of which have rejected woman suffrage at the polls, then other States also have the right to control suffrage.

The suffragists are now attempting to obtain a Federal amendment, because some of them say "this is the *only* way to get woman suffrage."

A Federal amendment would *not* be submitted to the voters, but would become law as soon as approved by a mere majority in the legislatures of thirty-six of the States—regardless of the action of other States. A constitutional amendment once submitted cannot be recalled. When the legislature of any State has ratified it, the ratification is irrevocable. Rejection by any legislature is not final. It could be reconsidered. This could keep the amendment before the country for a hundred years. In fact, there is now a proposed constitutional amendment which has lain dormant for nearly a hundred years, but which may be revived at any time. Owing to the number of sparsely settled States, an amendment could be adopted by one-third the population of the country, acting through legislatures instead of by popular vote.

In making this attempt, the suffragists are virtually confessing that they are not only eager to deny State rights, but that they want to *disfranchise* the voters on this subject.

In spite of the objections of the women themselves and the registered opposition at the polls of millions of men who represent those women, the suffragists are working to circumvent majority rule, to avoid referendum to popular vote and to destroy democracy itself.

To enfranchise themselves, they are trying to disfranchise the men and to flout the opposition of the majority of the women, to whom they also deny the right to decide this issue. They respect neither the votes of men nor the will of women!

It is impossible that such an autocratic, self-contradictory and undemocratic movement can succeed in terrorizing the United States Congress.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL?

(Would a Federal suffrage amendment be unconstitutional? Could a State which had defeated woman suffrage at the polls go to the Supreme Court and have the amendment thrown out, even after the many years it would take to get thirty-six States to ratify a Federal suffrage amendment? This is a new thought for the believers in woman suffrage as "bound to come" and who think the Federal amendment is a "short cut" to votes-for-women. The PROTEST has received the following article suggesting the unconstitutionality of a woman suffrage amendment. We would appreciate comment on it from our readers, especially members of the bar.—EDITOR.)

NOT only have both political parties gone on record in favor of guaranteeing the right of each State to settle the question of woman suffrage for itself, but the Constitution of the United States, besides giving to each State the right to control the qualifications for suffrage, contains provisions which must be violated in the event of the passage of a Federal suffrage amendment.

Section I, Article IV, of the United States Constitution reads: "Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State."

Twelve great States have publicly rejected woman suffrage by popular vote. The Constitution guarantees that "full faith and credit shall be given" to these "public acts."

Article X of the Amendments to the United States Constitution reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

The power to control the qualifications for the exercise of the franchise is thus "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

In every State but Delaware the right of suffrage is regulated, modified, extended or withdrawn by a State Constitution which requires the submission to popular vote of any provision for changing these qualifications.

A Federal suffrage amendment would thus violate not only the provisions of the United States Constitution and nullify the "public acts" of the States that have defeated woman suffrage, but it would deliberately wipe out the Constitutional provisions in each State which require that this subject be submitted to popular vote.

A VISIT TO MR. HUGHES

HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Republican candidate for President, was visited on July 6th by a delegation of women representing the anti-suffrage associations of the States that have recently defeated woman suffrage. The anti-suffragists expressed their approval of the clause in the Republican suffrage plank which "recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

No formal speeches were made, but the question was fully discussed. The interview, which lasted half an hour or more, was in the nature of an informal exchange of views and was perfectly satisfactory to the anti-suffragists. Three of the five women appointed to call on the Republican candidate were his personal acquaintances.

The Committee was composed of Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, Mrs. Horace Brock, Mrs. E. Yarde Breese and Mrs. Edwin Ford.

"WHERE WE WORK WE WIN"

By MISS MINNIE BRONSON

NEVER in the history of our anti-suffrage movement has there been a clearer demonstration of our motto, "Where we work we win," than in the great campaign which closed in Iowa on the fifth of June with a clear majority of 10,341 votes against the suffrage amendment. It can also be said that the truth of the converse was quite as clearly established, "Where they work we win."

According to the claim of the suffragists, over 500 workers and speakers were sent into the state by the suffrage organizations, among them some of the highest-paid speakers in the United States. Five million pieces of literature were distributed by the suffragists (more than eight pieces to each voter). Twenty counties had paid secretaries. Five-sixths of all the newspapers in the State supported the amendment. Every daily paper in the State, with two or three exceptions, were advocates of the suffrage cause. The Democratic nominee for Governor not only advocated woman suffrage, but 800 copies of his speech were sent to each of the ninety-nine counties in the State for distribution. Letters in support of woman suffrage signed by both the United States Senators, Cummins and Kenyon, and by Governor Clarke, were circulated over the State. The last month of the campaign the entire State was covered by automobile parties speaking and distributing literature. The President of the National Suffrage Association spent a month in Iowa and "gave generous financial help." The Associations of twenty States also contributed liberally and many individuals gave money generously. Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt, William Jennings Bryan and other notables toured the State. As Dr. Effie Jones, who spoke more times than any other speaker, said, "We have burned up the air of Iowa with oratory as thoroughly as it could be done." And she mournfully adds, "The enemy had few meetings and little oratory, yet they polled more votes than we did. The value of the spellbinder is small."

It is generally conceded that if the vote had been taken in February the amendment would have received stronger support; even in the beginning of May the vote for suffrage might have been larger, but every day of the campaign strengthened the anti-suffragists, and voters were daily changing from the suffrage to the anti-suffrage ranks.

If the election had been a month later, the State would have rolled up a majority many thousands greater.

Time and again men came to anti-suffrage headquarters and said, "I am going to vote against suffrage. My wife is a suffragist and ever since this campaign began I have had to eat my supper at a restaurant or get it myself, and oftener than otherwise I get my own breakfast. If just getting the vote takes so much of her time, what will she do when she gets it? Give me one of those buttons which says Vote NO and give me some for my friends. They all feel just as I do."

"Where they work we win."

It was late in January before the anti-suffragists organized a State Association. We began by occasional addresses and by distribution of literature to show the voters of Iowa the results of woman suffrage in other States. We demonstrated to them that it had raised taxes, had produced discord in families, had advanced socialism, had failed to bring about one single reform which had not been gained in male suffrage states; that the laws for the protection of women in Iowa were already superior to the laws in the woman suffrage States. This was most effective work. Suffrage was defeated in Iowa because the conservative and far-seeing farmers of that State were not to be beguiled by the oratory of the suffrage spellbinders into believing that suffrage in Iowa would be a good thing when it had so lamentably failed in Colorado, Washington and California. They were not to be persuaded that it was worth while to add a half

million dollars a year to their taxes and vote a poll tax on every woman in the State, of voting age, in order that a small minority of women of the cities could take a hand in politics; that these women were in a great minority was clearly indicated during the campaign.

Women can vote in Iowa on all questions of taxation. Several cities in the State held elections in the spring on various tax questions. In Des Moines there were two, one a school question, the other the question of building a plant for garbage disposal. At the first election the suffragists promised to get out their entire strength and "show the people of Iowa what a force women really are." Only 7 per cent. of the women entitled to vote went to the polls.

At the second election the suffragists made another great effort to bring out the women's vote, but out of 19,000 women entitled to vote only 553 did vote on this question of garbage disposal.

Now suffragists are always insisting that when they get the ballot they will clean cities, reform schools and purify politics and the men of Iowa quite naturally asked, "Where were the women, where were the suffragists when these important questions came before them for decision?" And the suffragists replied, "We would not vote because we could not vote on everything."

"Oh, then it seems," said the men of the State, "it is not to clean cities or to secure school facilities or to promote reform that you want the ballot. It is simply that you 'want it' to use as many times a day and as many days in the year as you can."

This exhibition of their strength in numbers was an object lesson of great advantage to the opposition.

Another contributing factor to our success was that Iowa is a prohibition State, and all the towns along the Mississippi River on the Iowa side are dry, but all the towns along the river on the Illinois side, where women vote, are wet. This fact and the daily spectacle of thousands of people crossing the bridge every day from male suffrage Iowa into woman suffrage Illinois to buy whiskey helped to sweep the counties along the river into the anti-suffrage column. You can't tell an Iowa man that woman suffrage means prohibition. He knows better. He has an object lesson right at home.

The suffragists have been explaining their defeat ever since the election. At first Mrs. Catt charged "fraud" and declared that she had "information tending to show corruption." But the President of the Iowa Suffrage Association says that the "official canvass was well looked after by the suffragists over the State." "In no place was evidence found of deliberate fraud or of sufficient irregularity to change the result. The State suffrage Board has consulted with lawyers and with the State Department of Justice and is advised there is *no evidence* to warrant a contest or a request for a recount."

The official count doubled the majority against suffrage (at first reported as 4,655), and changed three counties from the suffrage column to the opposition, since which time nothing more has been said of the "information" possessed by the President of the National Suffrage Association.

The President of the Iowa Suffrage Association declared that the "liquor interests did it." This is directly denied by the pre-election statement of Dr. Shaw that the suffragists were bound to win in Iowa because "Iowa is a rural community. There are no great cities to defeat us with their graft-ridden politicians and saloon interests." As usual, the suffragists tried to take both sides of the prohibition question and suffered the consequences of carrying liquor on both shoulders. The State was dry, so they enlisted the support of the W. C. T. U., whom they had treated shabbily in the wet State of Montana. Speakers

were sent out to tell the voters that prohibition would be repealed in Iowa unless women were given the franchise. Later, alarmed at desertions from their ranks, they tried to suppress the temperance workers, and when Mr. Bryan visited the State speaking for woman suffrage and prohibition, the suffragists refused to sit on the platform with him because he "allied woman suffrage with prohibition." The President of the Iowa Suffrage Association makes this quite clear when she says, "The Iowa Association were grateful for help from all parties, all candidates and all causes. It was impossible, however, to keep other causes from allying themselves either for or against suffrage, and suffrage organizations had no recourse except reiterated statements that they were for suffrage alone."

Of the 99 counties in Iowa 47 were carried for suffrage and 52 defeated it. Out of these 52 counties 16 were river counties and 36 were interior counties. Eliminating the counties of Dubuque and Scott, which the suffragists claim were entirely responsible for this defeat, we would still have a majority of over 3,000 in the State. Pocahontas, the home of one candidate for Governor who ran as the "only dry candidate" and a "woman suffragist candidate," gave a plurality to the home candidate, but defeated woman suffrage. Johnson County, the home of the State University, defeated suffrage by 1,000. Mrs. Catt's own county, Floyd, defeated suffrage by 200. One suffragist says that "No anti-suffrage worker should flatter herself that she contributed in any measurable degree to the defeat in Iowa." Another says, "The arrival of the anti-suffragists' forces in the State was the rudest shock a set of self-satisfied women ever received." She adds: "The circularization of the opposition was much more effective than the circularization of the suffragists." Yet the suffragists claim to have put in circulation over 5,000,000 pieces of literature while the antis sent out less than 500,000. It is quality,

not quantity, that counts with intelligence like that of the Iowa voters.

Great credit should be given to the National Association for its generous support in carrying on the campaign in the State. Great credit should also be given to the volunteer workers of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania for giving of their time and strength in the crisis. Too much credit cannot be given to the women of Iowa who so promptly and devotedly took upon their shoulders the burdens which they were forced to bear. The President of the Iowa Association, Mrs. Simon Casady, deserves the greatest credit for her untiring efforts. As Chairman of the Iowa Committee first, and afterwards as President of the State Association, no one could have been selected who could have served the cause better. She is one of the foremost women of the whole State for her philanthropic and educational work. In the estimation of the people of Iowa she has few equals and no superiors. The group of women who represented anti-suffrage activities in Iowa was the greatest proof of the spirituality of any cause which they serve. The association has among its members and directors such women as Miss Alice French and Mrs. Jane Crawford of Davenport; Miss Kate Van Duzee, Mrs. C. H. Peaslee, of Dubuque; Mrs. W. I. Hayes of Clinton; Mrs. Frank Millard, Miss Chittenden and Miss Hall, of Burlington; Mrs. Glenn Averill and Mrs. Frank Snouffer, of Cedar Rapids; Mrs. C. W. Bushnell of Council Bluffs; Miss Margaret Gay Dolliver of Sioux City and Mrs. Waterman of Ottumwa. An association which has on its rolls such names as these needed no defense, in the opinion of the voters of Iowa, from the acrimonious assaults of suffrage leaders, and every such attack received from the people and from many of the papers the rebuke which it so justly deserved.

THE EXPERIENCE OF A TEMPERATE WOMAN

By MRS. MARY A. SUTHERLAND

[Mrs. Sutherland lives in Texas and is a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She has written a book of Reminiscences published by that organization.—EDITOR.]

FOR forty years I have been a believer in "votes for women." With the franchise, I hoped, we should vote the saloon off the earth and live happy ever after. I thought I could vote as intelligently as any gardener, who, by the way, could not speak English. I was sure, with women to the fore, laws would be framed and passed which would give justice to everybody and put the lawyers out of business.

My sudden enlightenment and conversion are due to the exploitation of the female agitator in a local option election recently held in our county. The slogan, "Wet or Dry, Saloon or No Saloon," resounded through the district. (The writer is opposed to the liquor traffic open or disguised.)

As usual in such cases the petition asking for an election to decide the question was preceded by a "religious" revival; as usual, also, this meeting was largely attended by disgruntled politicians of the "also ran" class, several of whom were "converted."

The great day dawned. Women had been well drilled, at five o'clock in the morning they were holding prayer meetings on the street corners and serving hot coffee and lunch at the polls, while other parties of women were tolled off to follow each and every official in the city; to follow every supposed anti-prohibitionist; to stand behind the chair of the tabulator. In one case the woman sat on the arm of the chair much to the embarrassment of this particular gentleman.

Women in automobiles followed every well known citizen about the streets, thereby starting tales not to be told in polite society. Women congregated about the polls, breaking the laws of their State by intimidating voters. They even pushed their way into homes and private rooms near the polling stations looking for liquor. In fact, our town went crazy that day.

Real pros like myself who can prove my fealty, did not raise a hand to stay them, nor did responsible men vote with the fanatical crowd. We were numb from amazement. I sadly realized that votes for women were not for the better class of women.

The election was over, and our town was sadly divided, prohibition won, but womanhood lost. Does it pay?

Ideal suffrage as pictured in my mind had a different aspect, I could see women going in dignified manner to the voting booth, casting their ballots and returning home. Suffrage heretofore had meant to me clean politics, a more enlightened and influential womanhood.

But I have seen women in political action hidden behind sex to do things contrary to law, and God forbid that I should ever see the like again. Never once had I considered that political excitement would arouse women to such a frenzy, stirring the depths of society as a storm churns the waters of a lake coating the banks with slime. Women are safer, our homes are safer, our children are better looked after, when practical political affairs are left in the hands of man. I know now that when women vote one may expect such scenes as I have partly depicted and such desecration of womanhood as I dare not depict. Consider the women who barter the temple of the soul and the class of men who will control their vote. This is not a pleasant thought.

How easy it will be for good women to be kept from the polls while the vote of the other kind is a certain and salable quantity.

Women who are sincerely striving for the hoped for beneficial results of the franchise should investigate the other side of the question, ere they raise a mob they cannot control, and then stand appalled at what they have done to the fair fame of women and the Christian home. Women of the South do not want the vote. Of this I am now surely convinced. The complexities of the race problem peculiar to the Southern States make the ex-

periment particularly dangerous. In my section the large Mexican population adds to the menace.

I have become so thoroughly converted to anti-suffrage by the little I saw of women in political activity that I am actually afraid when I contemplate that suffrage may be forced upon us. It looks like ruin to me. I am the proud mother of six granddaughters and feel an all absorbing interest in the future of the women of the South. My age bars me from doing any active work in the cause, but I shall be only too glad to do the little I may.

The worst evils sometimes make for right. In this case I believe every suffragist in the community has gone over to the anti ranks. Everyone I have spoken with has had her name removed from suffrage records.

When I saw the wild mobs marching our streets I thought of the cruel knitting women of the French revolution. Prohibition will come in an orderly and sane way. The broken-down politician and professional evangelist and others of their ilk, who for years have lived upon the offerings of temperance women and the hard-earned dollars of the drunkard's wife must hunt other vocations. Prohibition has too often been championed by the refuse of old and responsible parties, but good men will take up the cause and we may leave it in their hands.

In conclusion let me say, I believe it will be a good plan to stick to old customs. Choose your ticket and send it in by the man who pays the bills. He will think he did the voting, while you will know you are "it" and all will be happy.

CORPUS CHRISTI, Tex.

AN "EMERGENCY CONVENTION" TO CONSIDER THE "CRISIS"

(New York Times, July 8th)

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, in a statement issued yesterday, said there was a possibility that the annual suffrage convention in Atlantic City, September 6th-10th, might consider dropping all suffrage work, except that for the Federal amendment and playing politics and opposing their political enemies. She also said there was a crisis in suffrage affairs, and that the suffragists of the old-time National Association were going to make, or are considering, a radical change in their methods.

The policy of working for the Federal amendment and fighting its political enemies has been that of the younger suffrage organization, the Congressional Union, of which Miss Alice Paul is the head. It is this line of action which has caused the Unionists to be called the militant suffragists of America, and the older, more conservative suffrage organization has opposed them. The Congressional Union caused a break in the suffrage ranks, and many of the conservatives went over to the more radical party. The Women's Political Union, Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, president, which had always been less conservative than the other organizations, went over to the Union in toto.

It is important that the president of the National Association should even speak of a possibility of so radical a change of policy by the convention. If the convention should decide that it was to the best interest of the association to do both State and Federal work there will be delicate questions discussed regarding the rights of the State associations in their own States to support the State or national amendments and the matter will come up as to disciplining the States if they should decide not to march with the national in all its lines of effort.

The convention will be the regular annual one of the National Association, called to meet the emergency two months ahead of the regular time. As the Republicans and Democrats have both practically put a State's rights suffrage plank into their platforms, Mrs. Catt said yesterday the suffragists felt that if they took no action it would be a virtual acceptance, and they would find the Federal amendment blocked whatever party was in power.

Writing to the *Times* on July 11th, Mrs. Catt asserts that the above story was "misleading and has produced a misunderstanding." She claims "it was intimated that the National American Woman Suffrage Association was considering the adoption of a militant policy, including an anti-Democratic attitude." She says her association "is not likely to adopt" militant methods. She claims that it is "non-partisan."

Mrs. Catt's explanation is valuable as showing that the differences between the National Suffrage Association and the Congressional Union are rapidly wearing down to a hair-line distinction—and even this may be removed at the "emergency convention"—as Mrs. Catt admits, as follows [Italics ours]:

In fairness to our association and to your own journal, I request the privilege of making the following points clear:

(1) The National American Woman Suffrage Association was the body which caused the introduction of a Federal suffrage amendment in Congress in 1875, and has supported it from that date. * * *

(2) Our association does not believe in militant methods, and is not likely to adopt them.

(3) During the forty-eight years of its existence it has maintained a strictly non-partisan policy. It cannot change that policy without action by the annual convention, composed of delegates from the several States. Unless the National Association should change its non-partisan policy—which in my judgment it is *not likely* to do—it could not work against any Presidential candidate nor against candidates for Congress of *any one party*. Consistently with our policies, however, it may campaign against members of Congress of *all or any political parties* who are *unwilling* to vote to submit the Federal amendment. Whether it will vote to assume this policy depends upon the action of the delegates to the convention.

(4) The Executive Board has called an *emergency convention* at Atlantic City September 6th to 10th, inclusive, because we consider that a *crisis has been created* in suffrage affairs by the fact that both of the dominant parties, while indorsing woman suffrage, seem to indicate a preference for its establishment through State referenda. * * *

(5) At the coming convention the question will be thoroughly debated as to whether the National Association shall drop its State work and concentrate solely upon the Federal amendment; whether it shall drop work for the Federal amendment and concentrate on State referenda, or whether it shall continue to work in the future, as in the past, for the enfranchisement of women by both methods. * * *

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,

President National American Woman Suffrage Association.

If the National Suffrage Association "drops its State work and concentrates solely upon the Federal amendment," as Mrs. Catt suggests as a possibility, the only difference remaining between the so-called "conservatives" and the "militants" of the Congressional Union will be that the "conservatives" will work against men of *both parties*, who refuse to break platform pledges, while the "militants" threaten only "the party in power."

In other words, the National Suffrage Association will "black-list" men according to individual, rather than party action, just as it did in 1914 with sixteen Congressmen, not one of whom it was able to injure or defeat. The Congressional Union will "war on the Democrats" and annoy the administration as hitherto.

"In fairness" to suffragists, this distinction without much difference in actual practice is pointed out. The possibility remains that the Congressional Union may completely capture the "emergency convention" and enthrone "militant methods" as the policy of all woman suffragists.

Whatever the suffragists do they are in a dilemma. If they fight exclusively for a Federal amendment they place their whole movement on record as threatening men who honor platform pledges and as confessing their inability to win another State by popular vote. If they abandon the Federal amendment it shows just how much of an anti-suffrage victory has been scored in getting each party to acknowledge that suffrage is a question for the States—and the people—to decide.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE AID TO PREPAREDNESS

GEORGIA

THE activities of the Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in June were marked. Comprehension of the State's special problems, coupled with courage and alertness, have made the Georgia Association, with headquarters at Macon, the light-house showing the treacherous rocks of woman suffrage.

Georgia men are most chivalrous and loyal to women—all the laws of Georgia are in favor of women. The Governor said before the Georgia Association: "I have never had a case where the defendant was a woman but invariably the jury decided in the woman's favor."

In 1862 the law was passed enabling a woman to retain the right to her own property, yet no title is good unless the paper has the signature of the wife with that of the husband.

The deference paid to the Southern women is largely because *she has been totally out of politics*. Southern men now always urge that women's clubs had a political tendency and in many representative families there are no club members.

The Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs, at its last meeting, decided to consider suffrage, and a very prominent member rose and stated in a ringing appeal against suffrage this fact: "We are country women and had great difficulty in enlisting our members and *could not do so* until we assured them there would be no agitation on woman suffrage."

Public men and private citizens are awakening to the serious aspect of the situation, and Georgia men no longer are disposed to "humor women" as they have expressed it. They know that like spoiled children they—a few loved ones—are crying for a toy that will bring tears.

The deepest thinkers and law makers are unalterably opposed to woman suffrage. On June 5th the last meeting of the summer was held. In the preparedness parade the Georgia Association promptly declared against marching, and was followed by the patriotic organizations and women's clubs.

The Association staged a marvelously beautiful tableau, "The Spirit of America"—Blossfield's famous picture. A most stately and beautiful woman stood, robed in folds of white, against a United States flag. Her right hand clasped about the flag staff, the left holding out the folds—above her poised a gigantic eagle—soldiers at the base and on the platforms while patriotic anti-suffragists waved flags and thousands cheered.

Southern women did not desire their wives, daughters and sisters and sweethearts

to march. The parade was beautiful, thrilling and none the less patriotic.

On July 6th the Georgia Association Opposed sent a committee—Miss Patterson, President; Mrs. S. C. Moore, State Organizer; Mrs. Sutton, Recording Secretary, and Miss Sutton—to Camp Harris with the 7,000 soldiers to distribute literature. Magazines and books contained enclosed articles against suffrage. One handsome young officer said, "Let me show you something," and opening his coat showed the button of the Georgia Association.

Another officer said, "Now what would we do if women wanted to go to war? We want women at home out of the turmoil, so when a man goes home he can find the rest different from down-town. God forbid a woman's being pushed into a man's place—she can't fill it—it's cruel to expect it."

Daily we are gaining and North Carolina has sent for help and suggestions.

MRS. S. C. MOORE, State Organizer.

MASSACHUSETTS

ELEVEN meetings were held during June, two of them at the Colonial headquarters of the Worcester Branch. This handsome old mansion has been opened and furnished by Worcester women for use as a club house during the summer months and is proving a valuable asset in the work now being carried on by the Worcester County chairmen. Tea is served daily and meetings are held frequently.

Branches have been formed at Sterling and Medfield, making a total of 140, and the State organizer reports much work looking to the organizing of numerous towns in the near future.

The Membership Committee report renewed activity in the procuring of signatures and a present net membership of 37,467.

The reception tendered by the Executive Committee to the six Massachusetts women who worked in the Iowa campaign was attended by hundreds of men and women from all over the State. Telegrams of thanks and praise were received from the various sections in Iowa where our women had worked, adding much to the enjoyment of the "Victory" celebration.

When the call was issued for the mobilizing of the Massachusetts troops, the Massachusetts Association offered to equip and donate a hospital ambulance, but after consultation with the adjutant-general, and at his request, the project was abandoned for the time being and the association, through its Public Interests League, undertook the establishing and maintaining of an emergency bureau at the Commonwealth Avenue Armory, Boston, to investigate the

needs of families of the men in camp and to provide prompt relief for all entitled to receive it. After the first week the work was moved to room 249 in the State House, here a stenographer has been installed and details of our women will be on hand each day from nine to five o'clock as long as their services are needed by the State.

The first edition of "Anti-Suffrage Essays" by Massachusetts women has been exhausted and there is such a demand for the book that another edition has been ordered.

Mount Holyoke College has just conferred a degree on Miss Hannah H. Kimball, a prominent Massachusetts anti-suffragist, as a philanthropist.

MINNESOTA

THE Minneapolis Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage entered upon the third year of its educational activity yesterday when Mrs. Edmund Pennington was elected president for the third time. Upon reassuming her office for another year, Mrs. Pennington said:

"Let us unite to save the true nature of womanhood—the dignity of motherhood—the unity of the family and the influence of the home. Let us declare ourselves, not only by words, but by our actions; let us wage war against immoral posters and extravagant shop windows—let us make the woman wage-earner less necessary by making marriage possible, and marriage more possible by making economy respectable and extravagance vulgar. Can all this be made possible?"

"Individually we are helpless against these forces, but if each one pledged herself to join a crusade—not alone against suffrage, but against beliefs and abuses that threaten the true nature of womanhood and the influence of the family and the home, we may rescue the Holy Land of woman's moral kingdom."

Aside from Mrs. Pennington the following officers were elected: Honorary presidents, Mrs. Harlow Gale and Mrs. T. B. Walker; vice-presidents, Mrs. Elbert L. Carpenter, Mrs. George H. Christian, Mrs. C. M. Hanson, Mrs. Louis K. Hull, Mrs. William Dwinnell, Mrs. Alfred Pillsbury; treasurer, Mrs. Vader H. Vanslyke; corresponding secretary, Miss Mary Geeseman; recording secretary, Mrs. Lindon King.

NEW YORK

THE Mexican situation has enlisted the active interest of anti-suffrage groups in every city and community where the boys in khaki have marched away with a roll on their shoulders holding all available

belongings. Army men say that sun and sands and cold night air of the unaccustomed climate call for many necessities not in the roll, whether there is fighting or not, or whether the boys stay one month or a year on the border. The orders are for four months at the minimum, and it is for those four months that the women at home must work as auxiliaries to the Government. The New York State Association has devised two "special aids"—a "Pocket Pack" of small essentials to be rolled up and carried in coat or hip pocket, and a comfort or "Friendly Kit" of larger articles of value to the man on march or in camp. The kit contains two woolen abdominal bands, two blue bandana handkerchiefs, a hat net of blue mosquito netting, etc. Wherever possible, a pair of light-weight auto goggles will be added.

For this purpose both funds and workers are needed to accomplish the work in the shortest possible time, and the following letter, sent out a week ago, is already bringing results:

"When the European war broke out a committee was organized in connection with this Association to give out Red Cross work from this office. Many of our members were glad to do their relief work through the Association, and there was a ready response to our appeal for co-operation.

"Now that need has arisen in our own country for similar work, we propose to establish an Anti-Suffrage Aid to co-operate with the Red Cross and other agencies—

"TO PROMOTE PATRIOTISM, and to contribute to the comfort, convenience and health of our State troops, afield and at home."

"Women everywhere are willing and anxious to work. Many of them need only to be shown an effective, timely way. These women are the ones we are anxious to reach.

"Will you co-operate with us by enlisting the interest of other women and by sending money or finished articles to this office so they may be used or sent as one contribution for a definite destination.

"Please let us hear from you—addressing this communication to Frances Benson, Secretary, 37 West 39th Street, New York."

PENNSYLVANIA

(Pittsburgh Gazette Times, June 24th)

THREE hundred Pittsburgh women have qualified for service as Red Cross nurses and will this week receive their "first aid to the injured" certificates from the Red Cross Society in Washington, D. C. Already many have received the certificates, which bear the signatures of President Woodrow Wilson and former President William Howard Taft.

All of the women have just completed a three months' course under the auspices of the Junior Anti-Suffrage League of this

city. Included in the number are business women, society leaders and many of the season's debutantes, all ready to serve their country if necessary, and all thoroughly efficient in the art of tying up wounds and rendering the first aid treatments as prescribed for war time.

THREE EXAMINATIONS HELD

The work, explained Miss Margaret Townsend Scully, president of the organization, is in line with the national preparedness scheme that is now sweeping the country. Anti-suffragists are warm advocates of preparedness.

Three examinations, the oral, written and bandage tests, were given and sent on to Washington. There were no failures. The regulation Red Cross text-book on first aid was used. During the three months of study weekly meetings were held, one for business women at night in the Trinity Parish House and the others in the morning in the Conservatory of Music, Dithridge Street. Classes were divided into groups of fourteen with a trained nurse in charge, who was aided by a boy scout.

BOY SCOUTS ARE LAUDED

The scouts were highly praised for their work. These willing youngsters acted as "victims" and never a whimper was heard. Ten blind scouts from the Institute for the Blind, Bellefield Avenue, acted as "victims" on several occasions and enjoyed it.

Besides Miss Scully, the following committee took an active part in the work: Mrs. Walter Carroll, Mrs. G. Cook Kimball, Miss Genevieve Hoevler, Mrs. H. H. McClintic and Mrs. Carl Warmcastle. Dr. Joel Kelsey, Dr. Edward Pitcairn, Dr. Clement Flood and Dr. John M. Milligan were the medical advisors.

WHY WE WIN

In the heat of the campaign no suffragist ever admits that the women are the real opponents of the "cause." To do so would be fatal. After the smoke of battle has cleared away, however, some suffragist occasionally gets up in meeting and tells the truth.

A member of the Iowa woman suffrage board says: "When I first started out I regretted that my audiences were composed almost entirely of women, and now that the campaign is over I wish that I had spoken to many times that many women because I am firmly convinced that the women must be reached first and through them the men. No man whose wife is indifferent to the question can be expected to be an enthusiastic suffragist or cast his vote for the cause."

Of course. And it works both ways. When a man's wife is an anti he votes "No"—for her sake. When she is a suffragist, and away from home half the time getting up "stunts" for the cause, he votes "No"—also for her sake. This accounts for the

familiar fact that the antis win "where they work," and also in suffrage "hotbeds."

Some of the teachers in the public schools of Burlington, Iowa, were very active in their endeavor to influence public opinion through their pupils. They wore "votes for women" buttons, but objected to the children's wearing "Vote No" buttons. In some instances they removed them.

PACIFISM

(New York Times)

From out in Colorado comes news which the suffrage women in the unequal franchise States will hear with deep alarm, if they are wise—news which, on the same condition and if they can—they will disprove, promptly and convincingly. It is to the effect that the recruiting officers there find their bitterest and most effective antagonists in the women, and that the latter are using all the power given to them by the vote to prevent young men from answering their country's call for help.

As there is no necessary connection or relation between suffragism and pacifism, this grisly and gruesome tale, brought to the *Times* yesterday in a letter from one of its correspondents, could have been dismissed as obviously false were it not that not a few of our Eastern suffragists have of late talked publicly in a way to show that they would make a like use of like power if they had it. They are not, indeed, the most prominent and most responsible of the suffrage group, but neither are they the least articulate and conspicuous in it, and they have not been silenced or even repudiated by the women from whom is expected whatever of light and leading the suffragists can supply.

Whether or not this constitutes a deadly peril for those aspiring to the ballot depends upon the extent to which the taint of pacifism has permeated the country. But at any rate it has cooled close to the freezing point many sympathies hitherto warm, and turned much of what was resignation to the proposed change, or indifferent to it, into active antagonism. And rightly, for if this is what the feminization of the vote would mean the extension of the franchise to women would be a national calamity of the most dreadful sort. Unless now, as so often in the past, the representative American woman knows that there are times for war as well as times for peace—unless she still can see that the place for a husband or a son is sometimes in the field, and scorn to keep him from it or to make it hard for him to go—then the ballot in her hands would certainly be calamitously misused.

OUT of 1,000 women called up at random on the telephone in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, not taking those known to be committed to one side or the other, 889 declared themselves opposed to suffrage and less than 100 wanted it.

SUFFRAGE BY THREAT

(New York Times)

THE Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and the Woman's Party, two lovely berries growing on one stem, are continuing their heroic task of putting Mr. Wilson and the Democrats in Congress under duress. "Pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment," they cry, "or we will stomp the twelve suffrage States against you." "We recommend the extension of the franchise," the St. Louis platform says, "to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men." In the face of that declaration, and before it is a week old, these belligerent sisters command Mr. Wilson and the Democrats in Congress to kick it away and commit themselves to Federal votes for women, and to do it not because they are convinced of the desirability of suffrage by constitutional amendment, but because they are frightened into it. A high opinion these frowning dames must have of the moral honesty and courage of Mr. Wilson and the Congress Democrats.

To hold that woman suffrage is the prime and paramount issue on which this election, or any election, should be decided is to furnish to the anti-suffragists a fatal argument. The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and the Woman's Party are but amusing themselves and the rest of the country with a "bluff." They have been deserted by the sense of the ridiculous. The efforts, if efforts are made, of these two sororities to beat Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Party would have about as much effect on the election as the evolutions of one Jersey mosquito on the movements of the satellites of Jupiter.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

May I reply to your editorial of June 22d entitled "Suffrage by Threat"? As I understand the word "threat," it means making people think you are going to do something which you are really not going to do and have no intention of doing. The Woman's Party is making no "bluff," no threat. It honestly believes that women voters can do no greater service to their country than to bring about the passage of the Federal suffrage amendment by teaching political parties that they cannot receive the support of women voters if they refuse justice to women. Never was a more glorious cause. * * *

A Jersey mosquito may have no effect on the satellites of Jupiter, as the *Times* says, but it can make people leave the State of New Jersey. The Woman's Party can make thousands leave the Democratic Party. Powerful and unexpected things sometimes result from mosquito bites—especially the bite of the female, you know. Yes, votes bite, God bless 'em!

ELIZABETH SELDEN ROGERS.
New York, June 23, 1916.

(Editorial)

A suffragist writing in yesterday's New York Times says:

I have great respect for the *Times*, but does it know that in all the Presidential elections in the free States since 1896 the average change of votes needed to throw the election to the other party was 9 per cent. of the total vote cast? Also that in 1912 none of the equal suffrage States would have required a change of more than seven-eighths per cent. of the total vote to swing the Presidential election in the State?

Exactly what would the enthusiasts of the Woman's Party gain for the cause if they could throw the women's vote—a myth—or enough of it in the twelve suffrage States to defeat Mr. Wilson in those States? They would punish him and his party for refusing their aid to the passage of a Federal suffrage amendment. The Republican position on suffrage is the same as the Democratic. Each party leaves suffrage to the States. Since neither can consent to a Federal amendment, the only "punishment" or "protest" the suffragists can make would seem to be to stay away from the polls. But in these days who, except the stern and unbending professionals, wastes a thought on woman suffrage?

WHO DEFEATED EQUAL SUFFRAGE?

(Burlington, Iowa, *Hawkeye*, July 1, 1916)

THERE is a too willing assumption that the defeat of the equal suffrage amendment of the constitution of Iowa was due chiefly to the so-called "liquor interests." That accusation appears in a number of State papers. It is more than probable that the anti-prohibitionists, as a rule, are opposed to woman suffrage, but that alone does not reasonably account for the adverse vote. For, if all the prohibitionists had voted for the amendment it would have been ratified by a very large majority. The *Vinton Eagle* makes a sensible local analysis of the vote:

"Tama County and Benton County assisted in that defeat, and neither county has had a saloon for years. Take Benton County, for instance. Vinton barely gave equal suffrage a hundred majority. Vinton is a city of homes and has not had a saloon since long before the prohibitory amendment was voted on in the eighties. Belle Plaine, another city of homes, did less for the amendment than Vinton, while nearly every township in the county gave a majority against it. Take two rural townships in Benton County—Cedar and Jackson—townships of homes and churches; both gave a majority against the amendment. Every newspaper in Benton County supported the amendment. It is idle to hide under the skirts of the liquor interests. The trouble lies deeper. When the list of counties with the vote is printed there will be an opportunity to analyze the situation and ascertain where the trouble is. We of us who do not touch liquor are disgracing ourselves by trying to lay the blame on the so-called liquor interests."

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE WOMAN'S PROTEST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1916.

STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } ss.

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher: The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.
Editor: Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.
Managing Editor: Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.
Business Manager: Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

2. That the owners are:
National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.
Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.
Mrs. Wm. B. Glover, Secretary, Fairfield, Conn.
Miss Caroline W. Stewart, Treasurer, Glen Ridge, New Jersey.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:
None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this thirty-first day of March, 1916.

CHARLES EDGAR,

Notary Public No. 1384, Queens County.
[SEAL] Certificate filed in New York County, No. 37 Register's Office, No. 7055.

My commission expires March 30, 1917.

"FORGET THE CHILDREN"

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is not satisfied with the present peace and suffrage propaganda going on in the schools. She wants the teachers to neglect the children to get into "grown-up" politics.

The New York *Tribune*, a staunch suffrage paper, quotes Mrs. Catt as follows:

"Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt said many men, seeing the large numbers of women who want to vote, do not say, 'Since so many want the franchise let us give it to them,' but rise up in horror and cry, 'I never realized what a menace this suffrage movement was.'"

"In the next year forget the children a little," Mrs. Catt advised the teachers, "and devote a little more energy to the grown-ups who are so ignorant. Join the men-ace!"

Mrs. Catt has thus admitted a new form of suffrage menace:

"Forget the children to get the vote."

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

Complete set, 50 cts. Single copies, 5 cts.
Selected packages, 25 cts.

PAMPHLETS

NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*
Taxation and Suffrage *Frederick Dwight*
First Legislative Address *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
The Woman Suffrage Crisis
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law
Dodgers
Suffrage a Cult of Self and Sex *Dr. Charles L. Dana*
Some Catholic Views
Red Behind the Yellow
Suffrage Not a Right *Hon. Henry L. Stimson*
Woman Will Not Gain by Suffrage *Judge Edgar M. Cullen*
An Argument Against the Woman Suffrage Amendment *Stephen H. Olin*

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
The Case Against Votes for Women *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
The Militant and the Child *Mrs. F. M. Scott*
Woman's Rights vs. Woman's Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*
Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*
Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*
The Relation of the Sexes to Government *Prof. Edward Cope*
A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *Miss Emily P. Bissell*
Should Women Vote? *Joseph Gilpin Pyle*
Xantippe on Woman Suffrage *Reprint from Yale Review*
Feminism and Socialism *Reprint from Unpopular Review*
Dodgers—Statistics
Silk Pins.....10c. each Ribbon.....10c. and 15c. a yard
Celluloid Buttons.....5c. Pennants.....15c. and 25c.
New Poster Stamps.....35c. a hundred
Cartoon—Population Votes.....50c.
New Song—The Anti-Suffrage Rose.....10c.

MAN-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

52 Broadway Room 926 New York City

PUBLICATIONS

The Woman and the Vote. Address Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914 *Everett P. Wheeler*
Feminist Revolutionary Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William T. Sedgwick*
Brief Submitted to House of Representatives, July, 1914 *Everett P. Wheeler*
Colorado and Suffrage *John C. Ten Eyck*

Consent of the Governed *Prof. Munroe Smith*
The Woman Suffrage Crisis
(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)
Brief on Woman Suffrage: Political Suffrage for Women Subversive of American Ideals
The Laws of New York Favor and Protect Woman
Raymond B. Seymour, of the New York Bar
What Women Have Done Without the Ballot *Everett P. Wheeler*
(Republished by Permission from *The Reply*)
Price 5 cents each—25 for \$1.00

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

Feminism (\$1.50) *Mr. and Mrs. John Martin*
The Eden Sphinx (\$1.25) *Mrs. Annie Riley Hale*
Anti-Suffrage Essays—by Massachusetts Women *Harold Owen*
Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *J. Lionel Tayler*
The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun*
Vocation of Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*
The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Sir Almroth Wright*
The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*
The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00)
Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)
The Unrest of Women (\$1.00) *E. S. Martin*
Votes for Men (50c.)
Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*
Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

These can be obtained by applying to
THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

The Remonstrance.....Subscription, 25c.
687 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

Some pamphlets issued by the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts.
The Case Against Woman Suffrage. A Manual.
Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage *Francis Parkman*
Argument before U. S. Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*

Of What Benefit to Woman?
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*
Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*
Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why? *Frank Foxcroft*
Taxpaying Suffrage *Charles R. Saunders*
Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and not to Men
Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*
Woman Suffrage in Practice—An Answer to George Creel.
Address in Opposition to Woman Suffrage

Mrs. George A. Caswell
Anti-Suffrage Manual (15c. a copy) *Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee*
An Anti-Suffrage Creed *Adapted from Octavia Hill*
A Social Worker's View of Suffrage *Mrs. Wm. Lowell Putnam*
Suffrage Statements Answered
Twelve Anti-Suffrage Reasons *Caroline M. Parker*
Why a Man Should Oppose Woman Suffrage *Frank Foxcroft*
Woman Suffrage Must Fail *Mrs. A. J. George (Independent)*
Woman Suffrage a Menace to Social Reform *Margaret C. Robinson*

Woman Suffrage a Failure in California

Pamphlets and Leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association,
KENSINGTON BUILDING, Room 615

687 Boylston Street BOSTON, MASS.
Selected Packages, 25c.

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

Enclosed find \$.....for.....year's subscription

Name

Street

CityState.....

Subscription Rate, \$1.00 a year. Make checks payable to THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

If you wish to subscribe for a friend, write the name below and include the amount in your remittance.

Name

Street

City

State